

On the identification of Kusinara, Vaisali and other places mentioned by the Chinese pilgrims.—By W. HOEY, ESQ., LITT.D., I.C.S.

(*With an edition of a new copper-plate Inscription of Jayādityadeva II.—By DR. T. BLOCH.*)

[Read, May 1899.]

The hitherto accepted identification of some places noticed by Fa Hian and Hwen Thsang must be subjected to a very careful re-examination because the discovery of the Lumbini Garden has shown that Kapilavastu lies in a direction quite different from that indicated by General Cunningham and his assistants of the Archaeological Department, and I think it is incumbent on any one who has doubts and can propose points for discussion which may assist in determining the geographical position of ancient places of interest, to lay his views before this Society. It is purely because I am anxious to reach the truth that I venture upon this communication. My main object at present is to show that Cherand and not Besarh is Vaisali and that Kusinara is Sewan itself or near it, but it is as well to use this opportunity to furnish notes regarding other places.

There is no doubt that the city referred to by Fa Hian as Ki-jou-i and by Hwen Thsang as Kie-jo-kio-she-kwo is Kanauj,¹ and I shall take this as my starting point. Proceeding from this the later pilgrim visited, or seems to have visited, Na-po-ti-po-ku-lo, which has been correctly identified with Newal, an ancient site a little north of Bangarmau in the Unao District. I visited this place in 1876-77 and obtained Kuṣaṇa coins and independently arrived at this identification. Fa Hian on leaving Kanauj went in the same direction which Hwen Thsang subsequently took and he reached a forest which he called

¹ In view of the frequent appearance of the name 'Lorik' in connection with Buddhist places and the possible connection of a part of that hero's legendary history with Buddha, I here note that it is remarkable to find his father's name given as Burhkubbha, 'the old hunchback.' Has this any connection with 'Kanyākubja'? The Ahirs who sing of Lorik are—Kananjā Gwālās. Lorik is clearly the younger (lahura) brother of Sauru, 'the dark one' (Sānyala).

A-li (*var.* Ho-lo, A-lo) and here he found traces of Buddha in the usual form of memorial buildings. He and Hwen Thsang probably visited the same place. Anyhow I have no doubt that Asi-vana is the forest of A-li, and the present pargana of Asiwan probably represents approximately the area of the forest of Fa Hian's time. The people have a local tradition that the town of Asiwan was founded by one Asan, a name which will be seen to be of importance when I recur later on to the route subsequently taken by Hwen Thsang.

On leaving the A-li Forest Fa Hian proceeded to the country of the Sha-chi. He travelled direct, but Hwen Thsang on leaving Newal went to other places before he reached Pi-so-kia, which is, I think, plainly the capital of the Sha-chi. One is tempted to say that the Sha-chi must be the Sāketas (Sansk.), the inhabitants of Sāketa or Ayodhyā, and to restore Pi-so-kia as Vi-sāka (not Viçākha) so as to introduce a common root to connect Sa-chi and Pi-so-kia as Chinese renderings of Sanscrit names. The temptation is all the stronger because at the S.E. of Ramkot, the ancient citadel of Ayodhyā, we have the mani parbat¹ (Orajhār), which might be thought to be a stūpa, and beside it there are numerous 'chilbil' (Sansk. *civillika*) trees. The twigs of the chilbil are largely used to serve the purpose of tooth brushes. All this bears a plausible resemblance to what both pilgrims record as to the place which they visited but doubt still remains. I have been unable to find any trace of Deva-çarman at Ayodhyā, but I do find that the hermitage of this sage is still pointed out near the Varaha sangam, the junction of the Sarju and Gogra rivers near Pasha, in the Gonda District, where there is still a shrine to which Hindu pilgrims resort. They attach sanctity to this locality because of the image of the Boar here placed which is said to mark the scene of the Varāha Avatāra. I believe that Pasha will be found to be Pi-so-kia, the capital of the kingdom or country of the Sha-chi.

Proceeding from this both pilgrims went on to Çrāvastī, which may be held to be Set-mahet until something tangible be shown to upset the identification. It is true that Kapilavastu is said to have lain S.E. from Çrāvastī or rather the pilgrims went S.E. from that city to visit places on their way to Kapilavastu, whereas the direction of the *supposed* site of Kaṇakamuni's stupa is slightly N. of E. from Set-mahet, but we find so many instances in which directions given by the pilgrims do not tally with directions shown on modern maps, prepared on the basis of careful surveys with modern instruments that we must not argue too strenuously on the directions loosely recorded and often

¹ This spot, however, may really preserve the name of Maṇi-cūḍa, one of the prehistoric kings of Ayodhyā.

palpably misstated by the Chinese pilgrims, who travelled over a country where impenetrable forest and dense jungle rendered an accurate estimate of direction impossible, and where even the distances stated cannot accurately correspond to those taken out by straight lines run across the maps of to-day. Routes were devious 1,250 years ago. A Chinese pilgrim may have left a city A by the S.E. gate and travelled for a time S.E. and then have turned in the tortuous mazes of a jungle northward and traversed what he called 12 yojanas before reaching another city B. He would have recorded: 'Proceeding from this place A to the S.E., after travelling 12 yojanas, we reach B.' To-day it may be that there is a direct road and we should say, 'Leaving A and going E. along a metalled road for 60 miles we reach B.' I note this here simply to show that we have need to be very cautious in treating the directions and distances stated by the Chinese pilgrims as fixed data in themselves sufficient to enable us to determine locations. The descriptions of places and the names and objects which are said to have existed in their days are much safer data for identification.

From Ārāvastī the pilgrims proceeded to Kapilavastu. Of this centre of intense interest I need now say nothing. Government has undertaken inquiries and I trust that the present examination of sites north of Basti will lead to satisfactory identifications. Meanwhile I have only to say that I recently obtained a copper-plate inscription which will enable the Society to test the accuracy or probable correctness of the results reported. An edition of this plate will be found in an Appendix to this paper. It will suffice here to note the recorded facts. The document is a deed of gift by King Jayāditya of certain land to a Kāyastha named Keçava. The area of the grant seems to have been considerable. It consisted of the town land Kumāraṣaṇḍikā including the hamlets of Patraṣaṇḍā, Çaṅkuṣaṇḍā, Gāddhī, and Deulī, situated in the Leḍḍikā subdivision of the Daddaraṇḍikā district. The boundaries are given: on the east the Rohiṇinadi; on the south the tilaka tree (? forest); on the north the kumbhī tree (? forest) and on the west the Hastilaṇḍākhyā khāta *i.e.*, the Ditch or moat known as that where the elephant was thrown. The date of this inscription is Samvat 921, or 864-5 A.D. Thus we have the name of the moat where Buddha cast away the elephant still preserved about two centuries and a quarter after Hwen Thsang's visit. The great captain, as he is described in the text, who brought the orders for the gift was Grahakuṇḍa, a name perhaps of importance with reference to the Grah Kuṇḍ near Tirbeni. There is no other proper name which at present strikes me as relevant.

We do not hear of a ditch where an elephant was thrown anywhere save in connection with Kapilavastu, but unfortunately I cannot yet

trace the villages or territorial divisions named in the plate, but inasmuch as they contained mines of salt and iron the tract referred to must be near the hills. Is it not possible that Saina Maina (Çāyana Māyana : the dream couch), 5 miles S.W. of Butwal may be Kapilavastu? I think it may be near it at any rate, unless there were more than one sculptured or painted representations of the dream of Māyā which gave to places their names.

I omit for the present the places between the Lumbini Garden and Vaisali but shall return again to discuss them also.

I have long entertained grave doubts as to the identity of Besarh and Vaisali. When Buddha left his home he visited Vaisali and he also consulted the teachers mentioned as Arāḍa Kalāma and Uruvilva Kāçyapa before he reached Gaya. The Kāçyapa here alluded to seems to have resided at the place known as Urwal on the East bank of the Son river, and as Uruvilva Kāçyapa is Kāçyapa of Uruvilva we may conceive Arāḍa Kalāma to be Kalāma of Arāḍa and Arāḍa to be the modern Arrah. In that case, any one will see that Buddha would have been guilty of making a foolish out-of-the-way detour if he went across the Great Gandak to Besarh before going to Arrah, Urwal and Gaya. If, when he fled from his home, he went down country *viâ* Kasia and the Saran district, crossed the Ganges and proceeded to Arrah, then crossed the Son and took Urwal on his way to Gaya, we have a probable route and there is no ground for supposing that he did not take as direct a course as reasonable. These considerations led me to believe that Vaisali must be found in the Saran district, west of the Great Gandak and north of the Ganges.

When Rāma was proceeding from Ayodhyā to Mithilā with Viçvāmitra, he passed through certain places until they reached the banks of the Son, but this river they did not cross. They crossed the Ganges and when they had landed on the other side they beheld the city named Viçāla, where they were entertained by the king Sumati. Viçvāmitra narrated the legendary history of the kingdom over which this king reigned. I need not quote it here, but I refer the curious to the XLV and following sections of the Bālakāṇḍa of Vālmiki's Rāmāyaṇa. There is much that is suggestive in connection with the stories told by Hwen Thsang and I think that the reference by Vālmiki to Çakra justifies the suggestion that Saran may possibly be Çakra + aranya the forest of Çakra or Indra.

We know that when Buddha left Magadha for the last time he went towards Vaisali. The gate by which he left Pataliputra was afterwards called the Gotama gate and the place where he crossed the Ganges was called thereafter the Gotama Ferry. The Gotama Ghat is

still known east of Revilganj. We also have the story of Ānanda's leaving Pataliputra for Vaisali and we read that when he reached the Ganges he discovered that the people of Vaisali had come out to meet him in the hope of obtaining his body as they knew he was about to die and they wished to do it honour: but he was pursued by Ajātaśatru's army which had been sent with the same object. He therefore surrendered himself to death (entered samādhi) on an island in the river and his body parted in two so that the rival claimants obtained equal parts. This story is preserved for us in the name Cherand, which is simply Chidra + aṅga: the divided body.

It is very remarkable that there is a local tradition at Cherand based on this story. It is this. There was a king at Cherand named Moraddhuj (Mayūradhvaja) in the Dwāpara Yuga who professed great devotion to the gods. Krishna determined to put the king's faith to a test and came one day to his palace disguised as a mendicant and asked for the right half of the king's body for some sacrificial purpose. He explained to the king that his wife and son must each hold one end of a saw (ārā) and saw him in two, but if he shed tears the gift would not be acceptable. The king agreed and the operation commenced but presently he began to shed tears from his left eye. The mendicant reminded the king that the professed gift was liable to rejection but the latter explained that the left eye wept because the right half of the body was alone being taken and the other left. Krishna was so pleased with this devotion that he exercised his divine power, stopped the operation, restored the body to its former state and flung the saw away. It fell at Arrah in the Shahabad district, giving its name to that place. This story is certainly the same in origin as that told of Ānanda. It is a Hindu version of facts underlying the Buddhist story.

The conclusion to which I come is that Vaisali did not lie on the east but on the west of the present Great Gandak. I shall presently fix it beyond doubt east of Chupra probably at Cherand itself. The whole of the northern bank of the Ganges from Hajipur right up to Manjhi (Mangchi in the Āin-i-Akbari) would repay careful and minute examination.

I may here digress for a moment to make some notes as to Saran Khass which I at first erroneously surmised to be Vaisali and visited for that reason. Saran Khass lies about 16 miles due north of Manjhi, and contains extensive ancient remains covered for the most part by cultivated fields. There is an abrupt rise at Makhdum Shah's Dargah, a little south of Harpur, which continues for a couple of miles south until it terminates somewhat more abruptly beyond Khwajah Pir's

Mazar. On the east of this elevated site runs a stream known locally by two names, Gandaki and Sarayu. This is well defined and may have been a channel made in ancient days for water supply. West of this and parallel to it the high ground extends for an average width of not less than half a mile. As I passed from the northern end I observed undulations with occasional very prominent heights and noticed that cultivators have taken out numerous bricks while ploughing. On approaching the southern end I observed a pile near a mound on which are the remains of a brick building. I learned that this pile is the Ganji-i-Shahidān or Martyr's Heap near the traditional Raja's kot. This indicates a desperate assault at some time on a Hindu stronghold. Further on I came to Khwajah Pir's Mazar and found two tombs in an open enclosure. In one corner there was a large black stone about $4\frac{1}{2}$ ft. long on which I observed Hindu sculptures of the *Navagraha* or nine planets. On the back of the slab there was a long inscription in Tughra character of which I had not then the means of taking a rubbing. It is much worn and could not be read at sight. It is probably historically important.

A few miles west by north of Saran khass is a village called Bhikaband on the map. I visited this spot also and find that there is here a large banyan tree which is said to cover about ten acres. In the ground near there are brick remains and an old well lately reopened. Somewhat S. E. of this is an old temple and the attendant Brahmans wrote the name for me: *Bhikaban*, which is clearly the 'Bhikshu's Grove.' About a mile west of this are two villages bearing the name Kapiā, which suggests the story of the service rendered to Buddha by the monkey (*kapi*) as mentioned by the later Chinese traveller.

I shall now proceed to resume my discussion as regards Vaisali itself. There are some suggestions based on a study of the Mahā-pariṇibbāna Sutta which I must note. When Buddha had crossed the Ganges for the last time on his way to Vaisali he first visited Koṭigāma and then Nāḍika, after which he arrived at the great city. There he was entertained by the courtesan, Ambapali, at her mango grove outside the city. From Vaisali Buddha went on to Veluva where he was seized with the illness which eventually terminated his life. This is probably the modern Belwa, N.E. of Cherand. Near it we meet with such remarkable names as Sārṇāth Chak and Dharma Chak. Buddha then seems to have turned again towards Vaisali for he went to the Cāpāla Caitya, which the text would lead us to believe to have been near the city, if not in it. This name is probably either from *Capalā* or *cāpalā* (Sansc.), a loose woman, and thus alludes to the concubine

spoken of by the pilgrims; or from *cāpa + ālaya* (Sansk.), the 'bow-place,' where the bow was deposited. Anyhow there can be no mistake as to the mound lying to the east of the town of Chupra, called Telpa. This is undoubtedly the Sanskrit *talpa* 'a tower,' and is that built for the mother of the thousand sons and the site of Vaisali is therefore fixed. It is the modern Cherand and was spread along the bank of the Ganges east and west of the present town.

The five rivers to the junction of which the Chinese Pilgrim Fa Hian proceeded was the mouth of the Son. The five rivers are the Jumna, Ganges, Rapti, Sarayu or Gogra, and the Son. Fa Hian crossed at Paleza-Digha Ghat, and had only to go one *yojana* to reach Pataliputra (Patna). The distance from Cherand to Paleza Ghat is $18\frac{1}{2}$ miles. This was four *yojanas* and gives a trifle over $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles to the *yojana*. According to Hwen Thsang the *yojana* consisted of 4000 bow lengths, each 6 cubits, This means 8000 yards which give us 4.54 miles to the *yojana*.

We learn from Rockhill's Life of the Buddha based on Tibetan authorities that Buddha on finally leaving Vaisali visited a place called Amra, which may be Amnaur (Amranagara), Jambugāma, Bhaṇḍagāma, Hastigāma, which may be the present Hathwa, and Bhoganagara. After this he reached Pāva.

I now come to speak of a place of which I have some personal knowledge. There is a village known as Papaur or Pappaur (Pāva + pura or Pāpa + pura) about three miles east of Sewan. I visited it some years ago. Near the present homestead there are the remains of a more ancient habitation from which I obtained some copper Indo-Bactrian coins. It represents a place of great antiquity and must be the Pāva where the goldsmith Cunda lived. When Buddha came thus far he went with his followers to the goldsmith's grove and while there he accepted an invitation to dine with the goldsmith to whose house he went. There he was served with the *sūkara*¹ which aggravated the symptoms developed at Veluva and gave his illness a fatal turn. This led him to resolve to push on to Kusinara and he set out with Ānanda in that direction. He was then at least 80 years old and suffering from dysentery. He could not have travelled far and we observe that the Mahāpariṇibbāṇa Sutta represents him as halting under a tree at least once and reaching a river with difficulty. The salient points in connection with his last brief journey are that he left Pāva, halted under a tree, moved on again to a stream called Kakuttha and having crossed

¹ This is not boar's flesh, but *Sūkara-kanda* 'hog's root,' a bulbous root found chiefly in mounds and jungles, which I have seen Hindus eat with avidity. It is a *phalahar*, permissible to eat on fast days.

a river bearing a name suggestive of gold, he reached the people's park near Kusinara and lay down under some sal trees. Possibly he had not come to Kusinara because he sent Ananda to bring the Mallas to him. After his death there was an imposing ceremony to do honour to his remains. He was laid out on a golden bier and is said to have been kept for seven days: and it is said that he showed his feet from out his winding sheet and he even raised himself and spoke. There was difficulty in moving his remains until Kāçyapa came. Thus the spot where his bier rested was one that must have borne a name associated with it. That name is Sewan, the Sanscrit *çavayāna*: a litter or bier. There is something in names. It is remarkable that we have a particular tree of great age at a mound near Sewan Railway Station. This is known as Jagattra, the Protector or Deliverer of the world. One would expect Hindus to venerate this spot but they do not. They consider it ill-omened. The late Raja of Hathwa desired to enclose all this spot, but the Pandits told him that the act would bring him bad luck. He enclosed a large patch but left the tree outside the walls. He died soon after. This Jagattra is looked upon as the oldest place about Sewan, and its name and associations are significant. There is also a very high mound not far off which has not been explored. I can have no doubt that Kusinara lies somewhere close to Sewan if it be not Sewan itself.

The indefatigable Major Waddell has in the third number of the Journal of this Society for 1896, published an abstract of a Tibetan Guide Book to Buddhist sites in India. It is unfortunately a brief and vague *vade mecum* for the traveller and is absolutely unreliable in some of the directions which it gives, but it tells us that the Bāla grove where Buddha died is in the N.W. of the Kamalla or Bāliya des, 'the powerful country.' I find that the tract of country eastward from the Dāha river near Sewan and stretching north of the Manjhi and Cherand tappas or parganas is called Ball. Sewan is in the N.W. of the Ball country. This is probably the country of the 'powerful' people (*bala*) and is possibly the same as *malla* (powerful, athletic). When Buddha left Vaisali and visited various places before reaching Pāva the places are said to have been villages of the Licchavis and the Mallas.

Hwen Thsang tells us two Jātaka stories in connection with the country of Kusinara. The one is that of the pheasant which tried to extinguish a forest fire by dipping in water, flying aloft, and shaking its wings that the water might fall on the fire: but the bird's efforts were unavailing and at last Çakra (Indra) put out the fire. This is not a misplaced story in Sewan, the Çakra-aranya. The second story is that of the deer which, when the forest was burning, helped animals across the river and last of all saved a helpless hare, and itself perished. Now,

both stories mention a conflagration and a river. There is one word in Sanscrit which expresses both conflagration and cremation. It is 'daha.' The river so named is the river of 'conflagration' and also the Çava-daha, the cremation river of the Malla or Balla people.

The Daha takes its rise N.E. of Gopalganj and in its course forms the sheet of water known as Sasa Mansa (*Çaça-mokṣita* 'the rescued hare') and then flows southward to Andur. Near this (at Faridpur) it is joined by the Sondi River and thence its course is S.E. until it falls into the Gogra east of Manjhi. The Sondi is said to be an offshoot of another stream called Narayani but I cannot find this on the maps. It comes down past Manjha Mutkar and Manjha Mallaon. I have said that we must find the word for gold entering into the composition of a river near Kusinara. It is given in the Chinese as Hi-lian and Shi-lai-na-fa-ti. The latter is obviously Suvarnavati, which, anyone accustomed to note mutations from Sanscrit to Hindi will see, becomes Soṇa-vati, or Soṇa-nadī, or Sondi or Sundi.

I have not been able to visit any places near Sewan except Pappaur, but a gentleman who has taken considerable trouble to help me in my researches tells me that there is a very extensive ancient mound covered with trees, locally called a fort of the Cheroos, between Luhsi and Kulinjura about 3 miles N. W. of Sewan. There are also remains of great age on the west bank of the Daha in Gosopali opposite Salannapur. This name suggests *Sāla-vana-pura*, the city of the Sāla forest. The mention of the Sāla here in any form is interesting. These places should be examined.

There are also considerable remains and a large basalt image further down the Daha at Hasanpur which should be looked to. From this place I received an inscription on a brass plate not yet deciphered.

South-east of Kusinara and west of Vaisali lay the place where Buddha parted from the Licchavis. This is probably Manjhi, the Māngchi of the Āin-i-Akbarī. It is the 'Māng' or 'Mānjha', the middle line, the parting, and lies on the west of the Daha or Sundi where it joins the Ganges. The Sundi or Daha river was probably the western boundary of the Vaisali kingdom, a narrow tract lying along the bank of the Ganges.

I now return to the Lumbini Garden and ask what were the points visited by the Chinese pilgrims between that place and Kusinara. It is not yet settled what the Rāmagāma Kingdom was or where the town called after Rāma lay. I may mention that the very old town of Kanapar near Dham is also called Ramnagar, but that is not necessarily significant. I can, however, with knowledge point to a very ancient mound called Ghagharra between Pipraich and Captainganj, which

should be examined as a possible Stūpa *cum* Vihāra site. After the Rāmagāma stūpa, the pilgrims visited the place where Buddha performed the three great acts of renunciation, where (1) he sent back his horse, (2) he took off his crest-jewel and cut his hair, and (3) he put on the *kaṣāya* robe of the ascetic. We know from the Lalita Vistara and the Romantic Legend that the memorial stūpas erected to mark the place where these three acts were performed were close together. We also know that on his flight from home the Prince came to the country of the Mainas. Kasia lies on the Mainpur tappa, and I believe that the Prince crossed the Chota Gandak in the morning after he left home, and that a black stone image still lying under a tree opposite Hetimpur is a remnant of some memorial there placed to mark the spot where he crossed. The Prince then entered the country of the Mainas, as I have shown above, and the remains at Māta Kunwar, at Ramabhar, and inside the cane-brake in Kasia town, are what we have left of the memorial buildings placed to commemorate the Great Renunciation. Kasia is the place where the Prince received the *kaṣāya* garment or robe of the mendicant.

The Charcoal stūpa has yet to be found but I am in hopes that it will be identifiable in the mound of Agarwa, N. E. of Taria Sujan which I have not yet seen. The name itself being obviously derivable from *aygārīka*, charcoal or embers, is promising.

Having located Vaisali at Cherand, I may ask: 'What then is Besarh?' Fortunately that is easily explained. When Hwen Thsang speaks of the country Fo-li-shi, north east of Vaisali, he means Pa-lā-sa or Parāsa,¹ the country of the dāk tree, a name which was given to at least the trans-Ganges part of Magadha. He tells us an exaggerated story about a monster fish in this country and a stūpa commemorating the conversion of 500 fishermen by Buddha. Besarh is the Sanskrit word *vasāḍhya*, the Gangetic porpoise, and the remains at Besarh are those of the town or city of the Monster Fish.

The mere fact that an Asoka pillar may be found somewhere near Besarh does not make it Vaisali: nor are we entitled to say that Cherand is not Vaisali, because an Asoka pillar has not yet come to sight there. It would be interesting to know why Asoka placed his pillars in many places which he selected. I would suggest that he selected Kesaria and Araraj as pillar sites because they probably represent the places where Buddha was believed to have been in former lives respectively a *Kesarī* or lion and the *Arindama Rājā*.

Let me now return to Kanauj and take up Hwen Thsang's route. I assume that he visited Newal and we have to look for 'O-yu-t'o and

¹ The country of the *πασσι* mentioned by Megasthenes.

'O-ye-mu-khi. The first thing to observe is that the Life of Hwen Thsang shows that he travelled by boat on the Ganges. He must have used a boat to cross from Kanauj on his way to Newal. He was certainly on a boat when attacked by the river-dacoits while on his way from 'O-yu-t'o to 'O-ye-mu-khi. No place that he mentions between Newal and Prayāga can have been very far from the Ganges. The Life differs from the Travels in important details. If we read the latter alone it would seem that Hwen Thsang speaks as if he was reckoning from Newal to 'O-yu-t'o, while the Life represents as a starting point the Bhadra Vihāra where the pilgrims had stayed for three months at Kanauj. These apparently trivial variations are important, because they affect the position of 'O-yu-t'o with reference to the Ganges. Anyhow the distances are 600 li to 'O-yu-t'o, 300 li to 'O-ye-mu-khi and thence 700 to Allahabad. The direction of the intermediate length is described as East. The general direction of the Ganges between Kanauj and Allahabad is S. E. There is a stretch of the river roughly W. to E. between Baksar Ghat and Dalman. The last named place is the spot where Dālabhya Ṛṣi spent his life and west of it a few miles is Chilanla, a name which recalls the Shi-lo-ta-lo of the pilgrim. This is the traditional abode of the Ṛṣi Cyavana, restored to youth by the Aṣvins. A little farther west is Gagason, venerated by Hindus as the *āgrāma* of Garga, a muni who left a host of descendants; and close to this again is Sinhaur, another place of great antiquity. Taking the Singhar Tāra crossing near Sinhaur crossing and crossing south of the river we reach Tāra Bhitaura or Bhati-ura, supposed to be a dwelling place of descendants of Bhrgu, and proceeding a few miles east we reach Asni, opposite Gagason. At Asni is the shrine¹ of the Aṣvins, the twin sons of Sūrya (the sun) who are represented by two brass images with their hair coiled over their heads. The myth runs that these deities were born from the nostrils of a mare. May not 'O-ye-mu-khi be *Aṣvā-mukha*, 'the mare's Head,' and this cluster of sacred places be the kingdom referred to by the pilgrim. The story of the Rishi at Chilanla restored to youth by the Aṣvins may be another form of the narrative of the conversion of Buddha Simha and of the three pious Buddhists who made the bargain about reappearing after death. Anyhow these places are connected and mark what may have been regarded by Hwen Thsang as a kingdom with its capital on the northern bank of the Ganges, that on which the majority of the shrines lies.

¹ A modern shrine built by the late Maharajah of Benares, but the place was known as Asni long before. It may be that Āsanga and his brother were remembered here as "The pair of brothers."

I have when writing about Asiwan referred to the significance of the name Asan as the founder of that place. Might not this name be the Āsanga of the Chinese Traveller? We meet with a similar eponym in connection with Asoha, the chief town of Asoha pargana in Unao district, where the people call the founder Asa Rikh. There are some remains at this place where Bactrian Coins have been found: and these remains may be Buddhist, but it would be rash to say as yet that Asoha is 'O-yu-t'o.

I need not say anything as regards Prayāga which can be no other spot than Allahabad. From this undoubtedly fixed point Hwen Thsang went to Kosambī which has been identified with Kosam *cum* Pabhosa on the northern bank of the Jumna. My learned friend Mr. Vincent Smith, has lately written disputing the correctness of this identification and I must admit that my faith was at first shaken by his arguments. I have a great respect for his acumen but I venture to say that, after considering all that he has written, I cannot but hold to the original identification. Mr. Smith has not himself visited Kosam.

As Hwen Thsang travelled by boat on the Ganges it is highly probable he moved by boat along the Jumna. In that case his first direction would have been S.W. and on his left at any rate we would have had forest as one can see who has traversed the Barah Tahsil of Allahabad District and the adjoining parts of Bandah District. The journey by river would be long and tedious enough to account for the great distance recorded, 500 li. When the traveller left Kōsambī and went north he passed through a dense forest. This may possibly be the present Atharban pargana. As we have the Antar-ved for the Ganges-Jumna Doab, the name may really be correctly *Antar-vana*. This point is worth examination. At any rate *vana* (forest) is beyond doubt.

In Rockhill's "Life of the Buddha" (page 74), where the account of the conversion of the king of Kosambī¹ is given, we are told that at that time the king of Vatsala had assembled his army with the intention of conquering the city of Kanakavati. West of Kosam about 16 miles on the southern bank of the Jumna where it is joined by that Paisuni river, there are extensive ruins known as Kankotah or Kanak Kot. I have seen them. I excavated a part some years ago and found inscribed stone lintels. This is, I believe, the Kanakavati referred to, and the position of the two capitals recalls the similar location of Pataliputra and Vaisali.

¹ I see no reason to suppose that the Vatsa country is not the Kingdom of Kosambī.

There has not been much reliable result obtained yet by attempts to identify the places between Benares and Pataliputra. We have to find the kingdom of Chen-Chu, 'lord of battles.' General Cunningham's endeavour to make Ghazipur the equivalent of Chen-Chu is strained and unfortunately, I fear, does not rest on any solid fact. The form locally given of the ancient name is not, I understand, Garjapur but Gadhipur. The General might as well have said that 'Ghāzi' is equivalent to 'lord of battles.' The name of the kingdom or, may it not be, of its ruler, is *translated* into Chinese as Chen-Chu. Its capital was on the banks of the Ganges. This is, unfortunately, not a certain key to the place in modern times. A careful examination of local traditions in connection with existing ruins and names may lead to identifications.

I may illustrate the value of tradition by quoting a very curious history handed down of a kingdom which may be that referred to by the Traveller. There was a king somewhere who had a daughter called Kanchavi for whom he could not get a husband. His pandits told him that it was written in her destiny that she should marry a man of low caste. He asked who this might be and they said he was a certain servant in the king's retinue who was a Piṣvān. A Piṣvān is explained in the story as being a Cheru and the Cherus are said to be represented now by the Dusadhs. The king resolved to send this servant to the end of the earth. He therefore wrote a letter and calling him up told him that Rāmacandra had been born and that he must take this letter, an invitation to Kanchavi's wedding and find Rāmacandra and hand him the letter. He warned him further that, if he returned without delivering the letter, he would be sawn in two. The servant set out and endured great privations and hardships, wandering here and there from place to place, until he met a venerable man in a jungle, who was in reality Rāmacandra and who asked him who he was and where he was going. The king's messenger then told him all about his mission and the letter which he carried. Rāmacandra informed him that he was a *cela* or follower of the person sought and he would accept the letter for him. The messenger delivered the invitation which Rāmacandra read and said: 'Go back, I have accepted the invitation. It is you who will marry the girl.' The Piṣvān now turned homeward and as he was passing through the Waina forest he heard a voice calling out: 'Who are you?' but he could see no one. He heard the question repeated again and again and at length replied: "Who are you that I hear calling while I see no one?" The answer came: "I am a tree that bears no fruit and I am sad because other trees have fruit while I

yield none. If you know any remedy for this, tell me." The messenger though a Dusadh had been a king in a former birth but because of his misconduct he had been reborn as a Dusadh, and all his wealth and greatness and evil deeds lay buried at the root of this tree, and prevented the tree fulfilling its purpose as a fruit-bearer. Now, by his interview with Rāmacandra, he had obtained illumination and was enabled to see his former life, and he at once knew that it was under this tree that his wealth lay buried: so he told the tree to lean over that he might take out what lay at its root. This the tree did and the man took out his former wealth and recovered his greatness. He became a Raja once more, employed a number of men and built a palace on the spot. He enlisted an army and marched to marry the princess Kanchavi. He encamped in her father's country. The king thinking of his daughter's unmarried state came out and asked him to marry her but, not desiring to seem anxious, he refused, saying that he did not intend to marry for he preferred to spend his days in visiting places of pilgrimage. When the king pressed him he married Kanchavi, who subsequently recognised him by certain marks which he bore. When he returned to his country he built four forts and his descendants were kings for four hundred years. The four forts lie in the Ballia District: the first Waina is in the Wainaban where he had found his wealth under the tree; the second is Kopachit; the third is Sikandarpur;¹ and the fourth was where Husenabad now is in the Banodih Tahsil.

At first sight this seems a very silly tale but the key to its value lies in the word 'Piṅvān,' which is from the Sanscrit Piṅ 'yellow.' There is no caste or race in India called Piṅvān but the word refers obviously to a yellow Race. This is the Mongolian or Chinese people. Hwen Thsang tells us of the men from Tu-ko-lo beyond the snowy mountains (obviously yellow people) who came and wandered in India friendless and inhospitably treated, till they met a king who built for them the monastery of the 'unpierced ears.' It was an ornamented building of small dimensions near a lake. The modern Waina in Ballia has ancient remains and it lies to the south of the broad expanse of water known as the Suraha Tal. A few miles S. E. is Ballia itself, the Bhṛgvāgrāma, the Kapileṣvara and the Dharmāraṇya; and until the last floods washed it away here too on the Ganges bank, I am told, was a temple of the Sun-God, Sūrya-Nārāyaṇa. The general conclusion is that the monastery of the unpierced ears will be found at

¹ There are extensive ruins at Sikandarpur and close by we meet with Rabilapāli, which reminds us of Rāhula and the old Brahman. This place with reference to Sewan as Kusinara fits in with the place visited by Hwen Thsang on his way to Benares.

Waina¹ or in its neighbourhood, and that it was at Ballia that Hwen Thsang crossed the Ganges to go to Mo-ha-so-lo (Masār).

I regret the length of this communication but I have been anxious for sometime past to contribute what I could to the researches now in progress. I have endeavoured to avoid all appearance of dogmatic assertions and remembered that it is extremely unsafe to argue about places which I have not seen or which others have not fully explored. If I can by suggestions, however crude, assist others in research, I am satisfied.

APPENDIX.

An edition of a new copper-plate inscription of Jayādityadeva II.—

By DR. T. BLOCH.

This Inscription, which is edited here for the first time, has been referred to in the preceding paper on page 76. Regarding its find-place, etc., Dr. Hoey makes the following remarks:—

“I have found it very difficult to trace out the place where this copper-plate, which the son of the Raja of Bansi made over to me, was originally found. It came into the possession of the Bansi family through Durbali Ram Tewari, a Pandit employed to look after a Sanscrit library which the Bansi Rajas have kept up. A very old man named Gauri Charan Lal of Kubabar tells me that a Brahman of Gurmha brought in this copper-plate two years after the mutiny and asked to have it read. So he sent it on through his brother, then employed at Bansi, to the Pandit. The mode of discovery was this. Some men were employed to dig kunkar at the North-East corner of the large sheet of water covering over 30 acres at the village Gurmha. It is a long strip of water extending within Rakhnakhor and Pachgawan. The kunkar was to be supplied for some purpose by two Dakhani Brahmans, who had taken a contract. The labourers, in the course of excavation, found two pots, one containing silver coins, the other gold coins and this Copper-plate. Of course the coins have long since disappeared. I have not been able to visit this place, but I shall now furnish some notes regarding it, and other places of interest, in the same Tappa *Pachgawan*, which lies North of Gorakhpur City. These notes are reliable, because they have been recorded by an English-speaking, well-educated native Magistrate, who is a graduate, and has, in his enquiries, acted under my instructions and provided me with photographs.

Gurmha is not a large village, but the lake is remarkable for a very massive high mound of bricks at the East side, on top of which rises a

¹ Wainaban is clearly the Vinayaka-vana, the forest of discipline (Vinaya), a parallel to the dharmāraṇya of the Hindus and Buddhists.